HUMAN EVENTS

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MAY 1955

Big Four: That a "summit" Big Four conference will be held has paradoxically left an aftermath of decided concern in White House quarters. The meeting is what the "other State Department" (composed of New Dealers Milton Eisenhower, Nelson Rockefeller and Harold Stassen) have hoped for and worked for so vigorously — and deviously — for the past two months. The President himself evidently was willing. This success, however, is dimmed by two considerations:

(1) The "peace, it's wonderful" theme — on which the backstage schemers have hoped to obtain such popularity for the regime — now looks less reliable than it did when mapped and designed by the New Dealers. Reason: Senator George Bender of Ohio, last weekend released the results of a poll which he has been taking among some 50,000 registered voters in his state. The poll, says Bender, shows that voters, in a ratio of 10 to 1, want the two controversial islands, Quemoy and Matsu, defended by the U.S. against any attack by the Chinese Reds. Defense of these islands has been characterized — by both Republican and Democratic New Dealers — as pure jingoism and a potential cause of a Third World War. Bender is an ardent admirer of Eisenhower.

The two islands are not now in the forefront of the news and the Administration obviously hopes the question can be settled at the "summit conference." But, if Bender's poll is a good sample of opinion, then the alleged peace-at-any-price sentiment in the country, on which the White House advisers had apparently counted, may be very much less substantial than assumed.

(2) Indeed, instead of the people being desirous of a peace by appeasement, they may well be concerned about the dangers of appeasement. Does the White House realize it has made an error of judgment? Perhaps, for at least initial reactions seem to indicate such Administration concern. Thus, Secretary of State Dulles, on May 10, said that the U.S. is determined that the projected conference will not become "another Yalta."

> **It can be revealed that the President, meeting with Senate leaders on May 9, told them he did not like the idea of a conference, that he fully realized the danger of dealing with the Russians. He sounded much less eager for a meeting than when he made his public speech on that day saying he was ready to "do anything, to meet with anyone, anywhere." As a matter of fact, say our informants on Capitol Hill, Ike told the Senators he would not "go anywhere" but would insist that the meeting be held in a "neutral" state, such as Switzerland or Sweden.**

Why the conference? The answer, quite unblushingly given in White House quarters and on Capitol Hill, is that the British Conservatives must have this concession from the U.S. so as to beat the British Labor Party in the coming general election in the United Kingdom. But veterans on the Hill — while conceding that a Conservative victory in Britain is desirable — are all too mindful of the uncertainty of elections and of what happens at large conferences in which Russia is a party. They recall how Dulles met with the Russians at Berlin, determined to consider only German and Austrian affairs, but ended by taking steps which led to the fall of Indo-China to the Reds.

Meanwhile, Senator McCarthy came out against Eisenhower joining in such a conference, charging that the President "basically misunderstands international Communism." The Wisconsin Senator also remarked, "One gets the impression that the President is sometimes not informed of his decisions until after they have been made." McCarthy is scheduled to make many speeches in coming weeks.

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Around The Town: The snafu of the polio vaccine has led to talk that the Administration should make someone the "goat" and provide a resignation to satisfy popular discontent. The obvious candidate for the sacrifice would seem to be Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, whose Department of Health, Education and Welfare has official control over interstate shipments of vaccines. But as Mrs. Hobby is beautiful and popular, the chances are that official ire will more probably descend on the unfortunate Dr. L. A. Scheele, Surgeon General. Actually, the fault lies with the Administration press agents who rushed in to try to exploit this field of human anxiety, and bungled.

● Largely unnoticed because it was swamped by the press coverage of the Big Four Talks and the Salk vaccine matter, the Pentagon turned down congressional efforts to obtain the title, "General of the Armies" for General Douglas MacArthur. The Pentagon's stand has aroused the indignation of various congressional figures, including GOP House Chief Joe Martin.

The cause is attributed to high brass jealousy of the gifted victor of World War II in the Pacific.

● Whatever the blunders of the Administration, the Democrats are not by any means starring in the daily drama, as observers see it. Conservatives — both Democratic and Republican — who formerly held Senator George in high esteem, now blame him for the dim chances facing the Bricker Amendment, a highly popular measure. George, last year favorable to some version of the Bricker measure, now has bowed out of this picture, thus making unlikely the two-thirds vote necessary for passage. George, indeed, is regarded as a poor runner for re-election next year when he will face the popular Governor Talmadge.

The only step the Democrats have taken to rehabilitate their chances is to overrule former Democratic Chairman Mitchell, who sought to exclude three Southern governors (Kennon of Louisiana, Byrnes of South Carolina and Shivers of Texas) from the 1956 convention. Now, the present Democratic Chairman Butler says the Party will admit to the meeting these three Democrats who bolted the party in 1952.

● Will the President run again? Maggie (Senator Margaret Chase) Smith of Maine sent a GOP women's meeting into a let's-drop-Ike mood in the last 48 hours by saying that the President prefers not to run for re-election. Many lady listeners jumped to the conclusion that the White House encouraged Mrs. Smith to speak this piece. The conclusion is wrong — say political observers. Maggie Smith — they report — has been mad at the Administration right along, because they have ignored her and given her little patronage. The Maine Senator apparently believes that the best way to correct that situation is not by cooing, but by wielding brass knuckles. The White House quite evidently did not like the Smith remarks. But, betting is that the Palace Guard will start courting the hard-boiled lady from Maine.

Not Merely Gossip: Congressional cloakroom discussion turns, *sotto voce*, to the "secret funds of the President." Under Roosevelt, Congress began to appropriate large sums of money which were turned over to the President to spend at his discretion. This secret budget fund of the White House has continued into the present administration. Last year Congress voted approximately a hundred million dollars for this fund.

How all the money was spent has not been revealed, but reliable sources have some knowledge of the disposal of part of it, which has been devoted to foreign aid purposes. Beginning with ECA and continuing under MSA and lately FOA, millions have been utilized from the Presidential fund. This has sometimes been called the President's Emergency Program (PEP).

This money was reportedly used to inspire suggestions for projects to aid refugees and to solve the problem of surplus peoples in Europe. It is asserted that one such project alone, proposed in 1950, consumed about $800,000 and salaries of $20,000 or over were a surprising feature in the operation. After two years — reliable sources say — a report on these activities was turned into MSA and then the project was abandoned. No one knows exactly how the money was spent nor what was accomplished. Other projects, it is claimed, have a similar, obscure history.

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The real purpose of the spending of these Presidential funds — say insiders — was to provide a means for enlisting the political support of persons who had influence with minority groups and through them to line up votes. In the cloakrooms, one suggestion is bandied around: let a Congressional committee request FOA to report on how much of PEP funds were received and how they were expended. Isn't that the duty of Congress? — it is asked.

Government In Business: An initial step in relieving private business of unfair and wasteful competition from government enterprise is in some cases to compel such enterprise to stand on its own feet as much as possible. The Rural Electrification Administration is a good example.

In the Twenties, it cost private electrical companies around $2,000 a mile for transmission lines in rural areas. In the Thirties due to a series of technological advances, this cost was cut to as low as $500 a mile and it became possible for private companies to expand their business in the farm belt. However, in 1936, REA came in with a rush. Its borrowers (rural electrical cooperatives) could get their loans from REA at 2% (private companies then had to pay 6%), could obtain loans for forty years, could defer paying anything for the first five years of a loan, and were given exemption from all Federal taxes. (In some States REA's were exempt from all or some local taxes.) Two percent money and Federal tax exemption were formidable advantages and REA and its customers did a land-office business until technological improvements, invented by private companies, enabled them — through efficient operation — to whittle those advantages away.

Today rural electrical cooperatives in agricultural regions furnish 54% (Hoover Commission estimate) of the power consumed with private companies supplying the other 46% and coming up fast. Today some 93% of all farm families have electricity. The remaining 7% are chiefly marginal farm families who either don't want to pay for electricity (even though it is available and cheap) or are bad risks. Hence, the question arises about the future of REA. This question is important for two reasons: (1) the burden of REA on the taxpayer, and (2) its potential threat to the legitimate interests of private power companies.

The startling fact is that at present in country districts, the rates of private power companies are often actually less than REA rates in spite of the latter's government privileges. Yet last year REA's administrative expenses cost Congress $7,284,000. Its total administrative expense now amounts to $78,667,000. The burden to the taxpayer, however, is still larger. When the Treasury has to pay 3% for money which REA lends at 2%, the taxpayer makes up the one percent. Federal tax exemption for REA cooperatives increases the tax burden of federal taxpayers. And REA's drain on the taxpayer is slated to continue. REA cooperatives frequently sell electricity at rates which can't provide necessary reserves for replacements and extensions, with the result that Congress is certain to be called on to furnish new loan money which may run into hundreds of millions to take care of this improvidence.

But aside from its present and prospective burden on the taxpayer, the REA system has shown marked tendencies to go beyond its Congressional authority. It has sought to take business away from private companies already supplying farm families. It has tried to build costly generating plants in areas where private power at reasonable rates was available and has even attempted to take power contracts away from private companies in industrial localities by offering unsound rates which make no provision for adequate reserves.

For a starter, the Hoover Commission recommends that REA be reorganized on a self-supporting basis, secure its financing from private sources and be made subject to the Government Corporation Control Act which would put its books on a business auditing basis. All this would lift REA off the taxpayers' back and force it to compete on fairer business terms if it challenges private companies in their legitimate spheres of operation.

The Labor Front: Some current predictions are that the minimum wage bill will come out as recommended by the President: with a 90-cent figure. The AFL-CIO-ADA lobbies are demanding $1.25. Washington observers with memories reaching back to 1949 when the rate was raised from 40 cents to 75 cents are betting on a dollar or more. They remember that in 1949, almost every objective observer

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predicted a 55, 60 or at most a 65 cent rate. But when the time came to stand up and be counted, opposition to the highest proposed rate — 75 cents — melted away.

In the present fight, Eisenhower has frankly said that he gives priority to the broadening of coverage; let higher rates come later.

Increased coverage — especially the inclusion of employees of retail and theatre interstate chains — is running into the issue of discriminatory competition. As an example: the large and prosperous Butterfield movie chain would be exempt because it is confined to Michigan. Smaller, weaker competitive chains would be covered because they cross state lines. The same question of discriminatory coverage would apply with even greater force to retail chains.

Congressmen from the South, whose industrial expansion has in part been the result of the attraction of lower wages, remember the lesson of 1949: "You can't tell what will happen when this bill gets on the floor." They seek to bottle up the bill in Committee.

On The School Front: Federal Aid to Education, for the moment at least, is stymied by an irreconcilable conflict between Northern and Southern New Dealers on the Senate Labor and Education Committee. Senator Lehman (Dem., N.Y.) demands a clause that no federal aid be given any state permitting segregated schools.

Chairman Lister Hill (Dem., Ala.) reminds his fellow New Dealers that he comes up for re-election next year; he said he would face certain defeat if he allowed such a provision to come out of Committee.

Senator Douglas (Dem., Ill.) has been urging Lehman to back down. Get the principle of federal aid to education established now; let restrictions come later. But Lehman who also comes up in 1956 refuses to yield.

The discussions make a mockery of the claim that federal aid can be obtained without certain federal control.

Book Front: *Fifty-thousand copies!* Based upon advance orders from book wholesalers and retailers, that was the first printing of *False Witness* by Harvey Matusow. Publishers are Cameron & Kahn, each of whom "took the Fifth" under Congressional questioning. Books by reds and pinks have little difficulty getting distribution and display. If you ask your public library why this book is bought while John T. Flynn's books are spurned, you will be called a "bookburner" by Elmer Davis, the American Library Association and the Ford Foundation's Hutchins'-headed Fund for the Republic.

Bound Volume with index for 1954, now ready. Donate one to your public library. $15 each.

Erratum: In the Article Section of HUMAN EVENTS, May 7, page 1, lines 16-18, the passage incorrectly reading, "Senator McClellan (Dem., Ark.) who had succeeded Bill Jenner as Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Committee," should read, "Senator McClellan (Dem., Ark.) who had succeeded Joe McCarthy as Chairman of the Government Operations Committee."

Letter from the Honorable SPRUILLE BRADEN, former Assistant Secretary of State and former Ambassador to Argentina: "For approximately 8 years I have subscribed to and read every line of HUMAN EVENTS. Its forthright and intelligent stand for constitutional representative government and the principles which made this nation great, make it 'must reading' for every patriotic citizen of the United States."

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Article Section

NOT TO BE SOLVED ON A SLIDE RULE

A Southerner Looks at the Problem of Integrated Schools.

By JAMES J. KILPATRICK

ONE OF THE THINGS that distresses the Southerner most, as he ponders the future of his public schools, is the extent to which certain realities of the situation are misunderstood, or ignored, by his brethren in other parts of the country. Your Southerner will not say much about this. He is, typically, a reticent fellow, and more often than not he is embarrassed by some of his wool-hat spokesmen. He frequently wishes devoutly that these professional spit-and-holler boys, if they have to be bombastic, would go up the bayou and deliver their imprecations to the frogs. They are not much help.

But the unwillingness of the moderate Southerner to speak out, coupled with the abundant eagerness of the intemperate bumpkin to strut and roll his eyes, has contributed to a confusing state of affairs. The extremists on one side arouse extremists on the other; a terribly difficult problem in race relations is obscured in the donnybrook; and doubtless many an American, remote from the South, looks upon the uproar in mingled distaste and incredulity.

Meanwhile, influential national magazines contribute innocuous and irrelevant profundities, and these Pollyannas are no help to understanding either. But at a time when the Supreme Court is hearing fresh argument in the case, and the education of the South's children rests so fatefully in the hands of men from Indiana and Ohio and California and New York, the Southerner feels keenly the need for informed understanding — not sympathy — elsewhere in the land. I would bespeak that here.

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM in public education growing from the Supreme Court's opinion of May 17, 1954, is known in the South as the problem of "integration," and this in itself is slightly misleading. The court's ruling was that racial segregation must end, not that integration must begin, and there is a material difference in the two.

But if "integration" is to be discussed intelligently, it is well to point out one thing that is not meant by the term in order to clear the way for what in fact is involved. Integration, as the term is used these days, has nothing to do with the voluntary attendance of a handful of Negro students in white colleges and universities. This no longer is a matter of much concern. By "integration" is meant the compulsory mixing of white and Negro children, in large groups and in significant percentages, in the public elementary and secondary schools of the South. That is the problem, and it is an exceedingly serious one.

Yet the second thing to be understood is that the problem varies enormously in degree from one part of the South to another. It is easy to forget this. One looks at a map of the Southeastern Region, and the map bears a neat and uniform tint from the Mississippi to the Potomac. These are the States where segregated schools exist. But the cartographer's pastel pencil is misleading.

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Within the individual States, from county to county and town to town, the patterns of racial population are strikingly different. There are counties in Northern Mississippi and Western North Carolina and Valley Virginia where Negro pupils are almost nonexistent. In Virginia, to be more specific, six counties have no Negro enrollment whatever; in 28 other counties, Negro enrollment is 10 percent or less of the total. Indeed, in perhaps 40 of Virginia's 127 political subdivisions, the problem of integration does not measure up to the problem as defined. Only in a few scattered communities are there large numbers of Negro pupils who would represent a significant percentage within a given school.

It is the other extreme that causes concern. Virginia, for example, has 25 counties with more Negro pupils than white. In Charles City County, 77 percent of the enrollment is colored, in Surry, 76 percent, in Brunswick and Nansemond, down in the tobacco belt, 66 percent. One city — Newport News — now has a larger Negro enrollment than white, and four others (Petersburg, Portsmouth, Richmond and Williamsburg) are divided almost evenly. Here the realities of integration find their greatest meaning.

FOR IT IS NOT MERELY that the patterns of racial population are not the same. The plain, immediate reality is that the pupils are not the same. Again, let us consider certain findings in Virginia, though the findings are substantially the same in other Southern States. Over a fairly extended period of years, the Virginia State Department of Education has maintained a testing program, administered on exactly the same basis in all white and colored schools. The results of these tests, year by year, are not to be brushed aside.

More than 31,000 eighth graders in Virginia took the Iowa Silent Reading Test most recently tabulated. White and colored alike, the pupils were examined not only in reading, but also in comprehension of word meanings and sentence meanings. The results showed that in the cities, the best one-fourth of the white pupils had a reading age of 18 years and 2 months; the middle 50 percent of the white pupils had a reading age of 13 years and 6 months; the lowest one-fourth of the white pupils had a reading age of 12 years exactly. Among the Negro pupils, the best one-fourth had a reading age of 11 years, 10 months; the median group, a reading age of 10 years, 7 months; and the lowest one-fourth a reading age of 9 years, 4 months. In brief, the test indicated that *the best one-fourth of the colored pupils, as a group, have a reading age lower than the lowest one-fourth of the white pupils, as a group.* In a typical class of 32, half white, half Negro, the range of comprehension would extend all the way from four colored pupils with a reading age of 9 years and 4 months to a top group of four white pupils with a reading age of 18 years, 2 months.

The problem of finding an effective teaching level for such a class is apparent. To aim at the median white child would be plainly unfair to the colored children; to lower the teaching level to a point acceptable to the colored children would be unfair to the white.

Another test offered in Virginia is the American Council of Education's aptitude test for high-school seniors. It is not an alarmingly difficult test. A sample problem in arithmetic, for example, is this one: "If James had four times as much money as George, he would have $16. How much money has George?" Other sections test vocabulary, coordination of graphic forms, and the like. On this test, the median white high-school student in a Virginia city regularly winds up with a score of about 89.9; the median Negro high-school student winds up with a score of 50.3. And again, it is a sobering fact that the *top* one-fourth of the colored students have a score of 63.9, while the *lowest* one-fourth of the white students have a score of 71.2. It is not without significance in this test of high-school seniors, moreover, that the

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drop-out rate among Negro students at the high-school level is much higher than the drop-out rate among white students, with the result that the Negro group includes a greater proportion of superior students.

IT SEEMS TO ME useless to go into the *why* of these figures. The "why" is argued often enough in the South, and always profitlessly; the discussions wander irrationally into the anthropology of the African tribes and the fact that gra'anfathuh fought at Shiloh and he loved all his slaves. Or the discussions wander into name-calling and blame-fixing, to the effect that white persons are responsible for the inadequacy of Negro schools; and if the schools were better and the teachers were better and the classes were mixed, everybody would be as smart as everybody else.

For one, I do not pretend to know why these tests turn out as they do, year after year after year, with a dichotomy by race so vividly clear that it cannot be denied. All I submit is that this condition is a reality; and that in the South today you cannot mix 10 colored eighth graders and 10 white eighth graders and have 20 eighth graders capable of being reached at an effective teaching level.

Now, there are other realities also — certain clearly definable and measurable indices of the mores of the two races — that enter into the picture. They are not very pleasant to talk about, but they are part of the problem. In Virginia, year after year after year, *one out of every five* Negro births is illegitimate; the white rate is one out of 50. The figures for other Southern States are substantially the same. In Virginia, where Negroes make up 23 percent of the population, Negroes produce 78 percent of the reported syphilis, and 86 percent of the reported gonorrhea. The figures for other Southern States are substantially the same. The harsh reality is that among large groups of the Negro population in the South, the sexual act is viewed as casually as a goodnight kiss. Further, the ugly truth is that this tendency toward promiscuity is accompanied by a dismaying tendency to violence and crimes of passion. We had 34 murders in Richmond last year; 28 of them were killings *of* Negroes *by* Negroes. One has only to look at the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. The figures for other Southern cities are substantially the same.

Merely to state these facts is to subject oneself to the charge of "damning a whole race." Nonsense! It should be needless to acknowledge, with genuine pride, that the South has a host of upright, moral, outstanding Negro citizens — lawyers-educators, doctors, businessmen. And to be sure, the South has its full share of po' white trash who are shiftless beyond belief. To recite certain facts of public health and jail commitments is no more to damn a whole race than it is for the automobile insurance companies, in fixing a higher rate for drivers under 25, to damn all teen-agers. The insurance companies know well that thousands of teen-agers are expert drivers; but they know, too, from actuarial experience, that certain conditions exist within a definable group.

The South knows this, too; and it knows that education these days is much more than the recitation of Caesar's Gallic Wars or a calculation of the money of George. It is a social experience also, compounded of class plays and cadet hops, senior proms and homeroom picnics; it involves an intimate boy-girl relationship in the formative years of adolescence. And white parents, aware of these disparate racial mores, ought not to be denounced as bigoted fascists if they exhibit what seems to them a well-founded concern for the well-being of their children.

RACE RELATIONS in the South today have another side, of course, a more hopeful side, that often is summed up in the comment that "racial attitudes are changing." To say no more than this is to convey little of the profound and dramatic changes that have

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occurred within the past 20 years. Let full credit be given. Many of these changes, perhaps most of the more spectacular changes, have been won by the Negro through court proceedings. And let a full measure of blame be accepted. If the South in this period had devoted a tenth of the energy to keeping things equal that we have devoted to keeping things separate, we might not have so serious a problem today.

But it also is true that a host of changes, less dramatic but sometimes more meaningful, have occurred through a measurable, traceable process of evolution. And it is true that the progress toward equalization of public facilities, in an area in which the vast bulk of taxes are paid by white persons and personal incomes are distressingly low, has been astonishingly good.

When I first covered courts in Richmond, a Negro juror was unknown; it is rare to find a jury without a Negro today. Formerly the City Library was for the use of white persons only; that foolish ban was dropped one day without notice or even much comment. Fifteen years ago, Negroes made up barely 7 percent of the city's registered voters; that percentage has more than doubled. It once was unheard of for a Southern city to employ a Negro police officer or fireman; today they are accepted routinely in many Southern cities. In much of the South, it no longer is remarkable news when a Negro is elected or appointed to some public office; it happens too often.

To be sure, segregation continues in a hundred forms — in restaurants, hotels, theaters, public transportation, in nearly all Protestant churches. We live in a dual society; both races have learned to live in it and to adapt themselves to it. Yet the conditions of dualism are not static; they change perceptibly, and with each change the Negro's lot improves.

The proponents of integration, if they would consider the total problem of race relations in the South, should ask themselves if compulsory, overnight mixing of the schools will fit into this pattern of beneficial change. They should not underestimate the depth of feeling in many areas; there is no question that in some counties, public education will be abandoned, or virtually abandoned, before schools will be mixed. It would be a tragic consequence for both races. It would be a source of infinite bitterness and infinite resentment. Yet the prospect of abandoned schools is one of the realities, too.

If integration is to be achieved successfully in the South, it must come from below; it cannot be imposed from above. If it is to be solved where it is a serious problem, it must first be solved where it is not a serious problem—in those school districts where Negro pupils are few. From these beginnings, as mores change and attitudes change, as experiments work out and as the voluntary choice of schools plays its part, this most difficult problem of a dual society probably can be worked out.

But it is wrong to view the South's concern as a silly ritual of magnolia worship; it is much more than a problem of tradition, more than a problem of economics or fears of miscegenation. It is a problem not to be defined in the murky algebraics of sociology, for the x's and y's won't stay constant; the factors are buried in cube roots of custom and prejudice and well-based apprehensions, and you do not work this one out on a slide rule.

James J. Kilpatrick is Editor of the *Richmond (Va.) News-Leader*. He previously contributed to HUMAN EVENTS on March 19, "This Was the House of Our Fathers: The Implications of Federal Housing."

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